Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

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AMCONSUL ISTANBUL

AMCONSUL IZMIR

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GENEVA FOR HARTMAN

E.O. 11652: GDS

.O. 11032. GDS

TAGS: PFOR, TU, CY, GR

SUBJ: DOMESTIC SUPPORT FOR GOT POSITION AT GENEVA

SUMMARY: GOT SEEMS HAVE STRONG DOMESTIC BACKING FOR CYPRUS FEDERATION FORMULA AND TOUGH NEGOTIATING STANCE. OPPOSITION HAS BEEN WEAKENED AND ITS CRITICISMS ARE HAVING LITTLE VISIBLE EFFECT

COALITION NOW PRESENTING UNIFIED FRONT; UNLIKELY THAT IT WILL BREAK UP OR THAT WITHDRAWAL OF ONE PARTNER WOULD REMOVE GOVT FROM OFFICE. EXCELLENT RELATIONSHIP HAS GROWN UP BETWEEN PRIMIN ECEVIT AND ARMED FORCES LEADERS. HOWEVER, ECEVIT PROBABLY DOES NOT HAVE MUCH LATITUDE FOR CONCESSIONS; HE SEEMS BE OBLIGED TO MATCH MILITARY CONFIDENTIAL

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SUCCESS WITH DIPLOMATIC SUCCESS. END SUMMARY.

1. ECEVIT GOVT IS ENTERING GENEVA TALKS' SECOND PHASE WITH WHAT SEEMS VERY STRONG DOMESTIC SUPPORT FOR "GEOGRAPHIC FEDERATION" FORMULA FOR CYPRUS AND VIRTUAL CONSENSUS FAVORING TOUGH STANCE IN NEGOTIATIONS. FOLLOWING ELEMENTS OF GOT'S DOMESTIC STRENGTH ON THIS ISSUE ARE PARTICULARLY WORTH NOTING:

A. PUBLIC ATTITUDES --

- 1. IT IS CLEAR TO ALL OBSERVERS HERE THAT ECEVIT HAS WON WIDESPREAD POPULAR APPROVAL FOR HIS HANDLING OF CYPRUS ISSUE SO FAR, AND THAT HIS PERSONAL POPULARITY IS VERY HIGH. STRENGTH OF HIS LEADERSHIP HAS THUS BEEN REINFORCED SIGNIFICANTLY AT CRITICAL TIME.
- 2. THERE IS NO ANT-WAR MOVEMENT IN TURKEY OR ANY OTHER FORM OF INTERNAL PRESSURE FOR ACCOMODATION WITH GREEKS. QUITE TO CONTRARY, PUBLIC SHOWING GREAT PRIDE IN TURKEY'S MILITARY VICTORY (WHICH THEY BELIEVE HAS GAINED TURKEY PRESTIGE IN WORLD) AND SATISFACTION THAT TURKEY HAS AT LAST ASSERTED ITS STRENGTH AND WIPED OUT MANY YEARS' ACCUMULATION OF FRUSTRATIONS AND HUMILIATIONS OVER CYPRUS ISSUE. CYPRUS OPERATION IS CONSIDERED BY MANY TO BE TURKEY'S FIRST MAJOR SUCCESS SINCE DAYS OF ATATURK. THERE IS LITTLE DOUBT THAT PUBLIC WOULD NOT WISH SEE FRUITS OF VICTORY GO UNHARVESTED. HISTORICAL ENMITY TOWARD GREEKS AND SUSPICION OF GREEK SKILL IN NEGOTIATION ALSO CONTRIBUTE TO HARD LINE.
- 3. ECEVIT APPARENTLY IS TAKING CARE BOTH TO PRESERVE NEW-FOUND SUPPORT AND TO AVOID STIRRING STRONGER FEELING AGAINST GREEKS. FOR EXAMPL, COMPLETE CASUALTY FIGURES HAVE NOT BEEN REVEALED, BODIES OF TURKISH SOLDIERS KILLED IN ACTION HAVE NOT BEEN BROUGHT HOME, MILITARY MISTAKES HAVE BEEN GLOSSED OVER OR KEPT SECRET, AND THERE HAS BEEN NO MENTION OF RAISING TAXES TO PAY FOR CYPRUS OPERATIONS. THIS WEEK, APPARENTLY IN RESPONSE TO GREEKS' CHARGES OF CEASEFIRE VIOLATIONS AND WHAT TURKS CONSIDER PRO-GREEK TENDENCY IN MUCH OF WORLD'S PRESS, GOT HAS BEGUN LAY MORE STRESS ON GREEK ATROCITIES BUT STILL HAS NOT PULLED OUT ALL STOPS.

B. OPPOSITION PARTIES --

ECEVIT'S SO-FAR SUCCESSFUL CYPRUS POLICY, CONFIDENTIAL

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COMBINED WITH TRADITION OF NATIONAL UNITY IN TIMES OF CRISIS,
HAS LEFT HIS RIGHTIST OPPOSITION WITH LITTLE TO SAY. OPPOSITION
LEADERS HAVE CRITICIZEDFEDERATION FORMULA, BUT ONLY ON GROUNDS THAT
TURKEY SHOULD TAKE STRONGER POSITION AND THAT FEDERATION SERVES
SOVIET AIM OF KEEPING CYPRUS INDPENEDENT. PARTITION FORMULA,
WHICH WAS BACKED IN LATE FIFTIES BY MENDERES GOVT, HAS SOME
ADHERENTS. IN GENERAL, HOWEVER, OPPOSITION CRITICISMS SEEM BE
MAKING LITTLE IF ANY DENT ON ECEVIT'S UPPORT, AND MAY IN FACT BE-

COME USEFUL TO TURKISH NEGOTIATORS AS EVIDENCE OF PRESSURES AGAINST CONCESSIONS.

C. COALITION --

DEPUTY PRIMIN ERBAKAN, LEADER OF JUNIOR COALITION PARTNER, NATIONAL SALVATIO PARTY, (NSP), HAS STOPPED MAKING PUBLIC STATEMENTS OF DISAGREEMENT WITH GOVT POLICY AND IS NOW FULLY SUPPORTING ECEVIT IN PUBLIC. WE DOUBT THERE IS MUCH DANGER THAT NSP WOULD WITHDRAW FROM COALITION AT THIS TIME, GIVEN ECEVIT'S NEW POPULARITY, NSP'S CHANCE TO SHARE CREDIT FOR CYPRUS SUCCESSES, AND OPPROBRIUM WHICH IT PROBABLY WOULD EARN BY WITH-DRAWING DURING CRITICAL PERIOD. HOWEVER, EVEN IF NSP DID WITHDRAW, PRESIDENT PROBABLY WOULD SIMPLY ASK CURRENT GOVT TO CONTINUE FUNCTIONING ON INTERIM BASIS: AND SINCE PARLIAMENT IS IN RECESS, PROBLEM OF FORMING NEW GOVT COULD BE POSTPONED UNTIL PARLIAMENT RECNVENES, WHICH COULD BE AS LATE AS NOV 1. FURTHERMORE, IT IS VERY LIKELY THAT ECEVIT NOW WOULD HAVE NO DIFFICULTY ASSEMBLING NEW COALITION. THIS OF COURSE LEADS TO OUESTION OF WHETHER, AS RUMORED FEW DAYS AGO, ECEVIT MIGHT SEIZE ON HIS NEW POPULARITY TO GET RID OF TROUBLE-SOME NSP AND BRING IN MORE COOPERATIVE PARTY AS COALITION PARTNER. IN OUR VIEW SUCH MOVE LIKELY BE KEPT IN ABEYANCE FOR TIME BEING.

D. ARMED FORCES --

EXCELLENT RELATIONSHIP APPARENTLY HAS DEVELOPED BETWEEN PRIMIN AND MILITARY LEADERS, WHO NOW REPORTEDLY HAVE CONSIDERABLE TRUST IN ECEVIT. GENEVA STRATEGY WAS DISCUSSED AND APPARENTLY APPROVED AUG 6 BY NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL, ON WHICH ARMED FORCES STRONGLY REPRESENTED.

2. SHOULD BE NOTED THAT SUPPORT DESCRIBED ABOVE IS FOR STRENGTH CONFIDENTIAL

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ECEVIT HAS SHOWN AND FOR POSITION HE PROPOSES TO TAKE; IT IS NOT UNCONDITIONAL MANDATE FOR ECEVIT TO PURSUE WHATEVER COURSE HE BELIEVES BEST. WHILE ECEVIT'S LEADERSHIP HAS BEEN STRENGTHENED, THUS IMPORVING HIS ABILITY TO ARGUE FOR WHATEVER CONCESSIONS HE MIGHT JUDGE ESSENTIAL, HE CLEARLY IS UNDER NATIONAL IMPERATIVE TO FOLLOW UP MILITARY SUCCESS WITH DIPLOMATIC SUCCESS, AND TO PROTECT HIMSELF AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE AGAINST INEVITABLE OPPOSITION EFFORT TO FIND FAULTS. MACOMBER

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TAGS: PFOR, TU, CY, GR, NATIONAL SALVATIO PARTY, (ECEVIT), (ERBAKAN)

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